

THE WORLD

TOMORROW

Idealists and the Social Struggle

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Editorials:

Mussolini's First Decade

Theodore Roosevelt and Navy Day

Henry George After Thirty-Five Years

The Lytton Report

H. N. BRAILSFORD

OCTOBER 26th

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Pacifists Prefer

Thomas

J. B. MATTHEWS

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This Week's Anniversary HENRY GEORGE

Died October 29, 1897

We have traced the unequal distribution of wealth which is the curse and menace of modern civilization to the institution of private property in land. . . . There is but one way to remove an evil—and that is, to remove its cause. . . . To extirpate poverty, to make wages what justice commands they should be, the full earnings of the laborer, we must therefore substitute for the individual ownership of land a common ownership. Nothing else will go to the cause of the evil—in nothing else is there the slightest hope. This, then, is the remedy for the unjust and unequal distribution of wealth apparent in modern civilization, and for all the evils which flow from it: *We must make land common property.* . . . So long as one man can claim the exclusive ownership of the land from which other men must live, slavery will exist. . . . This is the subtle alchemy that in ways they do not realize is extracting from the masses in every civilized country the fruits of their weary toil. . . . We cannot go on permitting men to vote and forcing them to tramp. We cannot go on educating boys and girls in our public schools and then refusing them the right to earn an honest living. We cannot go on prating of the inalienable rights of man and then denying the inalienable right to the bounty of the Creator. Even now, in old bottles the new wine begins to ferment, and elemental forces gather for the strife.—From *Progress and Poverty*.

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Let We Forget on Navy Day!

The selection of October 27, the birthday of Theodore Roosevelt, for the observance of Navy Day is entirely appropriate. The Rough Rider President represented the purest brand of militarism ever exhibited in the White House, militarism of a quality often revealed, however, in the records of kings, emperors and czars. This American exponent was severely handicapped in that he did not have "equality of opportunity" with rulers of other lands to demonstrate his militarism. But the record leaves no room for doubt concerning his real sentiments.

"By war alone can we acquire those virile qualities necessary to win in the stern strife of actual life," wrote Roosevelt nearly 30 years ago. "In this world the nation that has trained itself to a career of unwarlike and isolated ease is bound to go down in the end before other nations which have not lost the manly and adventurous qualities." To Henry Cabot Lodge he wrote during the Venezuelan crisis in 1895: "This country needs a war," but unfortunately "the bankers, brokers and anglomaniacs generally" seem to favor "peace at any price." Four days earlier, in an interview published in the *New York Evening Sun* he had expressed himself as being ready for war: "American cities may possibly be bombarded, but no ransom will be paid for them. . . . Moreover, a great many of our friends . . . seem to forget we will settle the Venezuela question . . . in Canada. . . . Canada would surely be conquered, and once wrested from England it would never be restored." He put in writing the opinion that President Eliot, Carl Schurz and "the futile sentimentalists of the international arbitration type" would bring about "a flabby, timid type of character, which eats away the great fighting qualities of our race." In an address before the Naval War College at Newport, Roosevelt once said: "Peace is a goddess only when she comes with sword girt on thigh. . . . Diplomacy is utterly useless where there is no force behind it; the diplomat is the servant, not the master of the soldier."

As Assistant Secretary of the Navy, belligerent Teddy gloried in his opportunities. Said Representative Butler of the House Naval Affairs Committee: "Roosevelt came down here looking for war. He did not care whom we fought as long as there was a scrap." It was during these days that his chief, Secretary Long, confided to his diary: "I find that Roosevelt, in his precipitate way, has come very near causing more of an

explosion than happened to the *Maine*. . . . He has gone at things like a bull in a china shop." In a letter to Lieutenant Commander Kimball, dated November 19, 1897, Roosevelt gave as one of the two reasons why he favored war: ". . . the benefit done to our people by giving them something to think of which isn't material gain, and especially the benefit done our military forces by trying both the Army and Navy in actual practice. . . . It would be a great lesson, and we would profit much by it." To his older sister he wrote that "it will be awful if we miss the fun . . . if we can only get in the fun." From Cuba a friend wrote to Mrs. Roosevelt: "No hunting trip so far has ever equalled it in Theodore's eyes. . . . When I caught up with him the day of the charge . . . he was revelling in victory and gore. He had just 'doubled up a Spanish officer like a Jack-rabbit'." Twenty years later the Rough Rider exclaimed: "San Juan was the great day of my life." And on another occasion he said: "I would honestly rather have my position of Colonel than any other position on earth."

So profound was his admiration of military efficiency that he found it difficult to condemn Germany's invasion of Belgium. "I am not now taking sides one way or the other as concerns the violation or disregard of these treaties," he wrote in the *Outlook* on August 22, 1914. "When giants are engaged in a death wrestle, as they reel to and fro they are certain to trample on whomever gets in the way of either of the huge straining combatants. Writing a month later in the same publication, Roosevelt said: "I think, at any rate I hope, I have rendered it plain that I am not now criticising, that I am not passing judgment one way or the other, upon Germany's action. . . . When a nation feels that the issue of a contest in which, from whatever reason, it finds itself engaged will be national life or death, it is inevitable that it should act so as to save itself from death and to perpetuate its life."

Theodore Roosevelt was at times utterly lawless. He was so self-righteous and self-confident that he felt justified in leaping legal hurdles in order to serve the public good. In commenting upon a controversy with his Attorney-General concerning the guilt of a prisoner, the President wrote: "I think Knox had the best of the argument as regards the law, but I had the final say-so as to the facts and the man stayed in jail for nearly a year longer." At a critical period in the negotiations with Spain concerning Cuba, Roosevelt wrote

to Captain Mahan: "If I had my way, we would annex those islands tomorrow. . . . I would . . . hoist our flag over the island leaving all details for after action." Leaving all details for after action! Mr. Henry F. Pringle, in his Pulitzer Prize biography, says that "the philosophy that molded Theodore Roosevelt during the greater part of his life" could be summarized: "Let the thing be done, and worry about the law and the details afterwards."

The classic illustration of lawlessness on the part of Roosevelt is found in the way in which he secured control of Panama. He himself gave the following account in an address delivered at Berkeley on March 11, 1911: "I am interested in the Panama Canal because I started it. If I had followed traditional, conservative methods I should have submitted a dignified state paper of probably 200 pages to Congress, and the debate on it would be going on yet; but I took the Canal Zone and let Congress debate and while the debate goes on the canal does too." I took the Canal Zone!

What a queer turn of events that this rabid militarist, who recommended the denial of citizenship to Quakers who were unwilling to fight, should be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize! But we are reminded that Nobel made his money from dynamite, and that Kaiser William was once a serious contender for the same prize.

Church and State in Spain

The nationalization of all church property in Spain is proposed in a new bill presented by the Cabinet to the Cortes, and is, if the predictions of journalists are reliable, practically certain of adoption. That the adoption of such a measure can be taken for granted one year after the problems associated with the separation of church and state threatened the unity of the Spanish revolutionary movement shows how far the revolution has moved to the left in that short space of time.

Liberal opinion may find this proposal of nationalization unpalatable, because it represents a political philosophy which allows the state a dangerous degree of sovereignty over cultural institutions. Liberal thought is bound to be critical of state-absolutism in every form. But events in history cannot be judged by abstract standards. The ideal state would undoubtedly allow a larger degree of autonomy to cultural and other interest-communities. But the ideal state does not emerge out of a reaction to the tyranny of centuries. A church which was a cog in the machine of oppression will be treated by a revolutionary movement not according to abstract principles of justice or academic canons of political economy but in conformity with emotions of resentment which its tyrannies aroused. Furthermore, it must be remembered that

the hierarchy is violently and persistently anti-republican in Spain and the republican is therefore bound to bring the power of the church as completely as possible under national control.

When one sees how the enemies of democracy in Germany, who could have been rendered harmless for the leniency of the German revolutionary movement in 1918, are at present about to destroy the last vestiges of republicanism and democracy in that country, one can sympathize with the rigor of the Spanish revolutionary movement. Ideally, religion has counsels which ought not to be brought under the dominion of the state. But when the counsels of religion are prostituted and become the voice of a repentant reaction, the institutions of religion must submit to the court of revolutionary justice. That court is not altogether dispassionate. Its justice is rough justice. But all justice which emerges out of historical situations is rough rather than refined. The idealist may regard that fact as regrettable but the historian will know it to be inevitable.

Fresh Breezes in New York

We are not sanguine over the prospects of a speedy change in the habits of conventional labor unions anywhere, least of all in New York City. Many of them have been short-sighted politically, when they have not been under a leadership either venal or at least of questionable value to the workers. This does not apply, of course, to the great and on the whole radical garment unions, especially the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. But too frequently, particularly in election years, it has been easy for labor leaders to find reasons for extending support to Democratic bosses, thus playing into the hands of Tammany corruption.

Evidences are not wanting, however, of revolt against this time-serving policy in the present campaign. The victory of Tammany Hall over the McKee and reformist groups seems complete; but there is a strong probability that the Socialist ticket in New York City will startle the conservatives as much as it did when Norman Thomas polled 175,000 votes in 1929. We have disagreed with some of the policies of Morris Hillquit, the Socialist nominee for the mayoralty; but in him the party will certainly have a strong candidate, with outstanding ability, leaving in pitiful contrast the anaemic Republican, Mr. Pounds, and the Tammany tool, Surrogate O'Brien. The Teachers' Union has already come out with an endorsement of Hillquit, which declares:

The Teachers' Union of necessity has adopted the policy of taking no part in political campaigns, or of allying itself with a political party. However, the Socialist Party has made an enlightened pronouncement on important educational issues that should receive the consideration of every teacher in the

city. So far as we know, neither the Democratic Party nor the Republican Party has gone on record in opposition to the devastating policy of crippling the schools through unthinking retrenchment at the behest of the real estate and banking syndicate, the Citizens' Budget Commission.

More important still, however, is the repudiation, by labor leaders representing more than 300,000 workers, of an endorsement given to Surrogate O'Brien by officials of the Central Trades and Labor Council. These rebellious leaders have thrown their support to Morris Hillquit and the Socialist Party, in spite of the fact that the majority of them head unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. This is something new under the sun, at least in recent politics. The United Hebrew Trades and the needle trades both backed Mr. Hillquit, as did David Dubinsky, head of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. The joint statement of several of these leaders says: "Mr. Hillquit is running on a platform designed to serve the true interests of labor, and he is the only candidate for Mayor who stresses the need of adequate relief for the million jobless workers of the city."

Not only because this forthright desertion of the compromising leadership of the Old Guard in the New York unions is deserving of a great showing at the polls, but because the Socialist program and Morris Hillquit's campaign hold the promise of genuine gains against corruption and capitalism, the twin rulers of the metropolis, we hope for a great wave of protest. A huge Socialist vote will pave the way for power and the ultimate socialization of this boss-ridden municipality.

Reconstruction in Liberia

Reorganization of the economic life and financial affairs of Liberia seems necessary now if the republic is to survive, and, failing the ability to accomplish this without outside assistance, it is appropriate that such aid should come from the League of Nations. So long as Liberia is a member-state it is entitled to the privilege of this disinterested counsel, and to the full recognition of its status as an independent republic. In the recent proposal of the League to provide foreign advisers as an aid to reconstruction, it reached the limit of its appropriate offices in giving to these experts the power merely of making suggestions to the government. Further authority would have carried over into the dangerous classification of a mandate; instead of advisers it would have established super-officials whose status, however benevolently conceived, would defeat the fundamental purposes of the League.

It was this situation that gave such an unpleasant aspect to the American insistence upon the absolute authority of the chief adviser, and it is to the Ameri-

can government's credit that it finally receded from its uncompromising demand. The long historical relationship with Liberia has given to the United States the role of tutelary saint which it has exercised with disconcerting unevenness over the years. In the recent discussions it has been conspicuously handicapped in making its case for greater control by its own unsavory record in Haiti, the only other Negro republic existing today. The tolerance and defense of the Firestone rubber concessions carry a strong suggestion of the type of interest which leads inevitably to imperialism.

Of most serious importance at the moment, however, is the fact that the pertinent issues have tended to be subordinated, both in Europe and America, to the assumption that the problem is racial rather than economic and political. This attitude is put unmistakably and with utmost conviction by the *London Times* when it declares editorially that the government "can never become a success unless the process of reorganization is placed under the supervision of white men." The problem is one of efficient and intelligent study of the economic organization and resources of the country, and the irrelevant injection of the racial issue becomes both a barrier to coöperation and a spiritual, if not material defeat of the principle of autonomy.

The record of many of the European nations in Africa carries a heavy presumption against the ability and temperament of their experienced officials to understand and sympathize with the idea of a Negro state. The most experienced of these experts are as seriously needed by their governments in the development of their own dependencies as they are needed by the League for Liberia.

It seems likely that the American attitude was relaxed more out of recognition of its incompatibility with the prerogatives of the League than from any sudden conviction of the ability or willingness of Liberia to carry out a program of reorganization without stern persuasion. The record of Liberia on this score has been consistently unfavorable. It failed to coöperate effectively on vital reforms recommended by the American Commission of 1916, following the Kru wars; it failed to coöperate effectively on the program of needed sanitation on which they were provided assistance; it failed to take effective steps toward the correction of the serious abuses revealed by the International Commission of 1930. With the shifting of direct responsibility to the machinery of the League, the republic will probably have its greatest opportunity for reorganization at the same time that its deepest sincerity and good faith are being challenged. They have the right to insist that these advisers shall be persons of highest caliber—political economists, students of native life and affairs, rather than merely white men experienced in handling natives. If the republic de-

serves to remain a member state, it needs no dictatorship; and if its statesmanship is wise it will turn the services of its advisers to good account.

Canada Goes Imperialist

While the fire of unemployment continues to burn briskly in Canada, the Canadian government fiddles with the tariff schedules. And at last the world is allowed to see the 200 odd items upon which a new preference has been given to the United Kingdom. They include various iron and steel items, such as tinned sheets, steel in bars, tramway rails, cutlery, etc., some of which are to be admitted free, some to have their tariffs reduced, and some to have the general and intermediate tariffs increased; textiles, including cottons, where a general reduction of a third is introduced, woollens, to be reduced by one-quarter, and blankets and carpets to be reduced one-half; leathers whose British preference is increased and whose other tariffs are raised; chemicals, on which duties from 10 per cent to 25 per cent have been imposed by general and intermediate tariffs, thus giving a substantial British preference; flat glass, automobiles, vegetable oils, spirits, and a miscellaneous group of commodities from beers, through printing ink, china and cream separators, to books and pamphlets.

What does it all mean? Both from the Canadian government and from Lord Snowden in England one hears that it means much new trade in the United Kingdom for Canada and a possible minor expansion of British exports to Canada. On the basis of the 1931-2 fiscal year returns, Lord Snowden, who has no love for Conservatives, estimates that Canadian imports to the United Kingdom affected by the treaty total \$125,000,000. And British exports to Canada total \$54,000,000. From advance comments of Canadian industrialists this kind of balance seems to be the one they expect. It looks like a good bargain. The textile manufacturers had such a swingeing tariff and other protection before that the situation was becoming scandalous and they have had to take at least the appearance of a cut. They are now parading their attachment to the Empire and complacently taking credit for their self-sacrifice. The glass-makers say they do not produce any flat glass anyway and so they do not mind buying British. The automobile manufacturers do not anticipate any real competition from British cars; nor do the brewers from English beer, though beer drinkers wish they might. The tobacconists are in the same position. Indeed it looks like a good bargain.

But this tariff has other implications which are at first clearer than its market effects. "The Canadian schedules have been revised from end to end, with the object of shifting business to Empire channels," said

Mr. Bennett in introducing his proposals, and it grows more obvious that the Conservatives have really put into concrete form a genuine Canadian disgust with a species of economic servitude to her southern neighbor whereby Canadian goods were excluded in the United States and American goods dumped freely into Canada. The United States has thus joined Russia in the list of Canada's economic enemies. Russia's "unfair" competition Mr. Bennett has definitely provided for in the treaty. The impossibly obstinate one-sidedness of the United States tariff has been provided for too, though not so specifically. The Canadian government has committed itself to the imperial system of trade because it promises to be more profitable than the American system. It may be said to have given the word reciprocity a British significance for the first time in Canadian history. But only the years ahead can show to what extent this is a delusion.

The Coal-Miners' Struggle in Illinois

Illinois is fast becoming, with Kentucky, the dark and bloody ground on which the American coal-miner battles for freedom. The rank and file of the miners in that state have formed a Progressive Miners' Union in an attempt to get out from underneath the corrupt control of the John L. Lewis machine which dominates the United Mine Workers of America. Whatever one may think of the wisdom of their standing for a basic day wage of \$6.10 in the face of severe Southern competition, all well wishers of decency in American trade unionism can only hope that they will establish their organizational independence. Unfortunately the state and most of the local authorities seem to be throwing the full weight of the militia and police against them. Thus in Taylorville, where the struggle over the re-opening of the Peabody mines on a \$5.00 basis is most intense, all public meetings have been prohibited by the National Guard. A gathering of miners in memory of one of their martyrs of the "nineties" was broken up and a few days later a non-resident miner was shot with apparent wantonness by a guardsman. Even the Rebekahs have been forbidden to meet and the region is under a severe form of military despotism. All this is defended in the name of law and order, but it operates, of course, to make it easier for the coal companies to open their mines and it is also aimed to dispirit the Progressive Miners. It is in essence a class use of the power of the state. Those who suffer from it will do well if they give up hope of getting fair treatment from the slippery old party politicians with whom Illinois is filled and strike out instead for independent political action. If they can but establish their union, such a development may very well follow. We urge all our friends to send contributions.*

* Contributions should be sent to Harold Kelso, Treasurer of the Illinois Miners Fund, at 549 West Randolph Street, Chicago, Ill.

Ten Years of the Blackshirts

ON October 28, 1922, Benito Mussolini's band of blackshirts carried out their march on Rome. It was not quite the strenuous exhibition of dashing courage it is being depicted as to Italian youth; Il Duce came from Milan the next day, by train, bearing in his pocket the royal elevation to the premiership. But the deed rang around the world, and let loose in modern society a force which has not only revolutionized Italian life, but penetrated Germany, Austria, the buffer states in eastern Europe, and even Scandinavia, not to mention dilettante street-corner autocrats in the United States.

That fascism has accomplished certain physical things of benefit to Italy cannot be gainsaid. True, these advances have little relation to fascist syndicalist theory itself. But there have grown up a new evidence of energy, a pride in achievement and a somewhat mystical faith in the future that have had profound psychological repercussions in daily life. It is not only that "the trains are running on time"; as a matter of sheer fact, very often they are not. It is rather that a nation not so long since torn by disintegrating sectional tendencies has been welded together, by force, into at least an outward and visible unity. Sanitation, desperately needed in the peninsula, has been vastly improved; new housing schemes have been put forward; art has received something of an impetus away from that merely sentimental reverence into which it was falling; and a semi-sleepy land has been coming wide awake.

But all at what a price! The most grievous sin of the fascist regime has been its deliberate inculcation of militarism in the minds of the young. It is picturesque to watch the files of the youthful *ballilla* go down the street to the throb of drums, with the white blouses of the girls in sharp contrast to the black waists of the boys; but there is a blight behind the drum beats that may yet doom the generation that has grown up in these colorful ten years. The very textbooks in the

schools are aimed not at information but at ignorance, designed to keep the narrow nationalist view uppermost until the eighth grade or its equivalent. Thoughtless tourists crossing from France into Italy at Ventimiglia are struck favorably by the natty uniforms of fascist carabinieri, or the various troops wearing revivals of ancient Roman headdress; but more nations than not have fallen by that very brew of military emulation, including ancient Rome itself.



From a drawing by Albert Daenens.

Tyranny, ruthlessness, suppression — these have marked the reign of the dictatorship from its beginning. After the murder of Matteotti, Serrati, and Berruti came a long train of torture ending in the establishment of the Special Tribunal as a permanent fixture of oppression, and the founding of the "Ovra" as a volunteer spy system spreading fear and injustice through the sullen people. Yet even now all is not peace for Mussolini; rebellion has been driven underground, but it can never be exterminated. The great rail unions secretly circulate their anti-fascist literature; news of Spain's revolution ran like an electric discharge along the grapevine telegraph, restoring hope that has not wholly died.

Wages have been slashed; 183,000 rice pickers, for one example, were cut from 72 cents to 55 cents per day, with no right of appeal to the autocratic labor tribunals. The war budget must be sustained at its 25 per cent of the total outlay! Though Italians are not allowed to know it, informed observers have seen the poverty-stricken Benito and his late brother Arnaldo elevated to wealth, banks near ruin taken over by the state at public cost in order to avoid scandal and disaster; and at last, even the belligerent Benito cooing like a dove in the direction of Geneva, with one eye on the chances of economic ruin for his proud régime. Ten years, in 1932, of ancient history; a throwback, in the name of progress, to mental barbarism. We say to the Italian people, both to the oppressed and the deluded: May you soon be free!

Henry George Thirty-five Years Later

THE career of Henry George, who died just thirty-five years ago, had many of those elements of meteoric success which Americans love. When in 1879 he sent off the manuscript of *Progress and Poverty* to the printer, he was an unknown and poverty-stricken California free-lance of forty. Five years later he was the most discussed writer and public figure in the Anglo-Saxon world. Not only had hundreds of thousands of copies of his book been printed, but George had carried his crusade to Ireland and England and had created a host of disciples both here and abroad. Two years later, in the most remarkable election which New York has ever witnessed, he was nearly elected Mayor of the American metropolis. But this burst into sudden prominence, unlike most vulgar "successes," had in it nothing of self-seeking, and George was at the farthest remove from being a personal careerist.

What he had done had been to lay bare, in the most moving style which an economic writer had ever possessed, one of the ways in which men were accumulating private fortunes at the public expense. That way to riches was the private appropriation of the bare land values which were in fact socially created. It is true that in his analysis of the causes of rent, George for the most part followed Ricardo, who, sixty years before, had first clearly pointed out: (1) that rent was a differential between what a composite unit of labor and capital could produce on the better pieces of land and what they could produce on the poorest land used (wages and interest together were determined by the product per unit on this poorest soil while economic rent was the surplus over this amount); (2) that the increase in population was continually forcing the cultivation of poorer lands and was therefore at once decreasing the joint share of labor and capital and increasing the differential which went to the landlords in the form of rent. It was the landlord therefore who reaped the fruits of the expansion of population.

From such an analysis as this it might have been expected that Ricardo would have drawn the evident ethical implication, namely, that if the pure economic rent of the bare land, aside from improvements, is caused by society and its increase comes from population growth, then it would seem but just that society and not private individuals should take that which is socially created. But so strongly rooted were the landowning classes in their social dominance and so impersonal was Ricardo's own interest that he seems never to have questioned the ultimate legitimacy of what his whole analysis implicitly condemned. Fol-

lowing Ricardo, his disciple John Stuart Mill did, be sure, point out some of the ethical implications of his master's teaching, but full protection was accorded to the existing landowners. Mill's writings, however, roused little or no enthusiasm.

What Henry George contributed, therefore, was not so much a subtlety of economic analysis as a glowing moral fervor over what should be done about it. Upon portions of Ricardo's argument he distinctly improved, as where he pointed out that an increase in wants and of productive efficiency in manufacturing would, as well as an increase in population, put heavy strains upon the soil and hence increase rent. But his real effectiveness lay primarily in his marvellously moving exposition, which made him in his time unequalled as either speaker or writer. For he alone seemed to be striking at fundamental causes, and by taking the constantly mounting rents for community purposes, his program seemed to make possible progress without poverty.

It was a beginning rather than an end which George made. What he was fundamentally seeking to abolish was the private reception of unearned income and of sums which were not necessary to induce persons to perform economic functions. Economic rent is certainly a part of this unearned income, but it is not all of it. What George and the more doctrinaire of his followers failed to see was that the owners of capital by striking hard bargains with their employees also derive unearned income, as do those who inherit large amounts of wealth or enjoy monopoly advantages in pursuing certain professions. Finally, our society has grown so complicated that a harmonious adjustment of the forces of supply with those of demand cannot take place so effectively under competition as it could in the simple days when Henry George first propounded his theory of the Single Tax.

Had George been able to see all of these factors, he would have pressed on to socialize industrial capitalism as well as land. But at this point he balked and his refusal to go further broke up the promising alliance which he had formed with the Socialists during the New York mayoralty election of 1886. This same refusal to push onward on the part of many of his followers has tended to draw groups of them together into relatively self-satisfied sects which remain more or less aloof from the struggle of the times. But in spite of all such incompletenesses, we, as Americans, may properly take pride in Henry George and of the way in which he ranks with Owen, Marx, Mazzini and Proudhon as one of the great germinal thinkers of nineteenth-century radicalism.



as Brailsford sees it

The Lytton Report

THERE is a consistency in the conduct of the League of Nations, under its present management, which any fair-minded man must recognize. It is never in an unseemly hurry. It waited for five months after the outbreak of hostilities in Manchuria before it sent Lord Lytton to report. Now that his conclusions are before it, it waits another six weeks before discussing them. This delay should not be resented. The people of Manchuria lose nothing by it, for it is not to be supposed that any action could follow this Report. The League, on the other hand, gains, for the rest of us will have ample time to write its obituary in language of studied solemnity.

The Report has had in England and France what is officially described as a good reception. By that is meant that no man's pulse beat the faster for reading it. It is a gentle document. It can offend no one, neither the friends of China nor the partisans of Japan. It does not brutally affirm unpleasant facts: it alludes to them so discreetly that they remain what they were—an *obligato*, a muted accompaniment to our conscious opinions. It pronounces no verdict; with a notable grace it leaves us to draw our own conclusions. One knows, of course, that Lord Lytton and his fellow commissioners would have to say, if a bullying lawyer asked them plain questions on the witness-stand, that Japan was the aggressor and that she broke three treaties. But they are gentlemen of exemplary manners: they do not precisely say this; they leave it to be inferred. They come nearer to saying that Japan had considerable provocation. They do say with almost startling plainness that Manchukuo is a puppet state which rests on Japanese bayonets and nothing else, and they tell us that the people of these provinces are very miserable. By writing in this mannerly way the authors have their reward. No one outside Japan feels obliged to dissent from their Report. Our blood-stream moves tranquilly: we have heard no bugle call to action. We remember how statesmen who meant to act were wont in similar cases to express themselves. Mr. Wilson did not speak in this way about Belgium, nor Mr. Asquith. The Report accordingly has had a good reception.

When we turn from the fact-finding chapters to the recommendations, we realize the subtlety of a rather

unusual document. It proceeds on a series of remarkable assumptions, but it disguises their risky, dare-devil improbability so skill-

fully that we hardly notice it till the long train of conclusions is ended. These assumptions are firstly that the world at large is inspired by genuine, positive and impartial friendliness to China and Japan, a sentiment so strong that it will move us to action. I beg the reader not to test this assumption by gazing within his own bosom. It might respond, as mine also might. We are in no position to act. But would it occur to you, candid reader, to use these words to describe the sentiments of Sir John Simon? Is he the friend of China—friendly to the point of action, and impartial between the two disputants? And what of the clerks of the British Foreign Office and their colleagues on the Quai d'Orsay? This, then, is a very rash assumption. The second is even more startling, for it is that China and Japan are animated by mutual good will, and desire nothing so ardently as peace and friendship with one another in *saecula saeculorum*. I cannot read that resolve registered in the ashes of Shanghai.

LORD LYTTON comes of a literary family. His grandfather wrote novels, his father poems. One perceives that in the third generation this gifted family has produced a satirist. Like all good satire this Report is severely logical. Grant its premisses and you must accept its conclusions. Reject its conclusions and you must turn back to re-examine its premisses. Let us see how the argument runs:

If the neutral Powers feel this active, impartial friendship towards China and Japan, they will take considerable pains to alter the present régime in Manchuria, since it leads (a) to the misery of the Chinese inhabitants; (b) to hostility and the probability of future war between our two friends; and (c) to expenditure which Japan can ill afford.

Equally, if Japan and China are animated by mutual good will, and desire peace above all else, they too will take considerable pains, and make considerable sacrifices for these ends.

Therefore it is not too much to ask:

(1) That Japan shall cancel the creation of Manchukuo, tear up the treaty which made it her protectorate and withdraw her armed forces.

(2) That China, while regaining a somewhat shadowy

suzerainty over Manchuria, shall allow it to be governed by foreign officials and advisers, and policed by a gendarmerie under foreign officers.

(3) That the inhabitants of an autonomous Manchuria shall calmly allow Japanese colonists to buy up the land and settle in large numbers under special consular protection.

(4) That Japanese officials and officers shall serve in the administration and the gendarmerie along with other foreigners, with single-minded zeal for the good of the Manchurians and complete oblivion of their former imperialist aims, and

(5) That Japan, whose motive in seizing Manchuria was to gain a military vantage ground against Russia, shall now embrace that Power (as well as China) in a pact of non-aggression.

ALL this is first-rate satire, trenchant and sure in its aim. Nor can one question its impartiality. It hits Japan, but it does not leave the Powers unscathed. And certainly, if read with attention, it helps to clarify our thoughts. One knows very well that Sir John Simon and M. Herriot will not take this very considerable trouble. One is sure that Japan will not withdraw her army or cancel her treaty recognizing Manchukuo. One is equally sure that if she were to do so, it would be because she reckoned on the presence of her officials and officers in the service of autonomous Manchuria to attain indirectly all her imperial aims. So impartial is Lord Lytton's satire that he even ridicules the old-world Liberals who trust in such devices to banish the evils of imperialism.

The Report, as I read it, is a brilliant and merci-

less *reductio ad absurdum*. It disposes finally of the comforting illusion that a settlement of this Manchurian question can be reached by consent—a thing conceivable only if China and Japan were inspired by evangelical sentiments which in fact they do not feel. Even then it would work only if the people of Manchuria were so altruistic as to refrain from irritation under peaceful penetration by Japanese colonists while Japanese officials forgot their fanatically exclusive patriotism. It is good to have this so clearly set down that any reader of average realism can understand it.

This illusion out of the way, there is only one other possibility which need detain us. Failing to secure this settlement by consent, will the League impose it by some method of constraint? That, I think, we may dismiss at once. If the League had ever meant to use constraint, it would have imposed it a year ago, before Japan became involved in military and diplomatic commitments from which she cannot withdraw without humiliation. Again, it is obvious that intervention of this kind would demand friendship towards one, if not both of the disputants, even more active than the other course. Finally there is another argument which will certainly restrain the League from imposing Lord Lytton's settlement by any process of coercion. Coercion would infallibly destroy in the breasts of the Japanese such germs of evangelical good will as they may feel today towards China. But without this good will the settlement would be unworkable. We may safely conclude that the League in its wisdom will do nothing. In that case a further inference follows. The League, under its present management, is a superfluity. Or shall we say that it has justified its existence by its discovery of a hitherto neglected satirist?

H. N. Brailsford

London, October 7, 1932.

Among the Tenements

AND even here the newborn seek the light!—
Here where the world is piled-up red and gray;
Here where sly rats and maggots of decay
Taint with an evil breath the windowed height!
Yes, here an infant, plaintive-voiced with fright;
While, in shrill alleys, weazened school-boys play,
And parodies of men, with eyes like clay,
Drift past as festering hell-bound corpses might.

Well may she cry, wheeled on this ashen street,
Stranger to moon and stars and blowing grass!—
Well may she cry!—the whole great smothering mass
Of walls surrounds her like a winding sheet!
Already, in the future's opening glass,
Stares the black specter of her life's defeat!

STANTON A. COBLENTZ



"Who will save me! Who will save me?"

"Who will save us, my son—who will save us!"

—Dyson in the London Daily Herald.

Idealists and the Social Struggle*

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

RECENTLY a good Bishop came to our shores from England and announced that he was not interested in politics, either English or American, and that all political problems would be solved "if only people's hearts are right." Unfortunately it is just this kind of sentimentality which we hear again and again from leaders in the church. The educators are almost equally sentimental. They believe that problems of social justice will be automatically solved if social intelligence is increased.

All political and social problems would undoubtedly be solved if all people were both generous and intelligent. But the question is, What are we to do since we do not have a sufficient degree of either moral good will or social intelligence in the average run of humanity to guarantee the solution of the social problem? That question has been answered by liberal Christianity and the modern school in the same optimistic terms. They have asked us to wait until religion develops the spirit of love among all men, or to wait until the school makes all people socially intelligent. Neither answer deals realistically with the limitations of the moral and intellectual resources of average human nature with which politics must be concerned.

It is not necessary to be cynical about either religion or education to arrive at a less optimistic conclusion than that which the modern Christian or the modern educator reaches. There are possibilities in both religion and education for the socializing of life. Religion at its best can place an inner check upon egoistic and expansive desires and make the individual a more sufferable member of his social group. Modern religion would perform that task much more successfully, however, if it had a more realistic view of human nature and did not give itself to the foolish illusion that religion is ethically impotent today only because it is still culturally obscurantist and that a "rational religion" will ultimately make all men social. If modern religion saw the fact of man's egocentricity in the same tragic terms in which classical religion regarded it, it might very well create a morally more potent spirit of contrition than now pervades the life of the church. It could furthermore revive religion if it viewed the facts more realistically; for religion not only creates the spirit of humility and contrition but is created by it. Men become religious as they take the sin of their selfishness seriously and stop giving themselves

to the blind illusion that they are righteous and generous individuals who would save the world if only there were more men as good as they are. Only sinners turn to God, which is the point of Jesus' sardonic remark that not the whole but the sick are in need of a physician.

Religion at its best can check selfishness not only by placing an inner check upon expansive desires but by strengthening social impulses in their competition with egoistic ones. Religious imagination may give transcendent value to the life of one's fellow man and may make it easier for the individual to prefer the interests of his neighbor to those of his own. The political impotence of modern religion, and for that matter of all religion, ought not to obscure the fact that vital religion has always made men more tender, generous and considerate within a given scheme of social relationships. In that sense a vital religion will be necessary to any civilization or society, even one which has achieved a much higher degree of social justice than the one in which we live.

IT is just as true that social education is always necessary in order to make social relationships within any established social system sufferable and decent. It is always necessary and possible to extend the range of social sympathy by education, to increase the insistence upon justice by extending the power of rationality from which the sentiment of justice is derived, to enlarge the capacity for understanding the needs of others and to view a social situation in which our needs and rights are in conflict with those of others with a measure of objectivity. All this is necessary and possible in any society, regardless of its basic conceptions and organization of justice.

The question is, Will the social sympathy which religion creates and the social intelligence which education advances ever become so pure and powerful that a given social situation is changed by them? Will not men of power, when they are moved by sentiments of sympathy, always resort to philanthropy to express whatever good will they have in their heart, and will this philanthropy not tend to obscure the moral issues involved in the basic problem of justice? Will men of intelligence not always try to make the social system in which they stand as decent and sufferable as possible, assuming that the system itself is good or can be made good by men of good will? Will the number who have a religious idealism more thoroughgoing and an intellectual grasp more penetrating than this

* From the introduction to Mr. Niebuhr's new book *Moral Man and Immoral Society*, to be published by Charles Scribner's Sons in November.

not always be so greatly in the minority that we can not count seriously upon them for effective social change?

THESE are the questions which neither modern religionists nor modern educators have taken very seriously. They sometimes assess the present situation quite realistically but they always place their hope in the future, when they expect that either a more vital religion or a more adequate educational technique will accomplish what has thus far failed of accomplishment. This optimism needs to be challenged much more vigorously if we are to escape from our moral and political confusion. It is based upon a romantic view of human nature and it fails to recognize the limits beyond which ethical action cannot go. It does not realize that even "socialized" human beings are selfish to the end that their selfishness, when cumulated in group life achieves a force of group egoism of demonic proportions; nor that the weaknesses of human intelligence make it inevitable that men should on the whole take a society for granted and should condone its injustices if they do not actually suffer from them, and that they should always see and defend their own rights more vigorously than those of others.

Most moral theory and the plans and purposes of most educators and religious idealists are projected as though these conclusions, justified on every page of human history, were unimportant. The educators, with their supposedly superior intellectual penetration, are not one whit better than the religious idealists. In facing the politico-social problem they have exactly the same illusions as the religious moralists. They do not see that the resources of human intelligence and good will are so limited that the best any of us can do is to bring the needs of others into our field of vision only if we happen to have some direct and personal contact with them. If their needs are brought to our attention in the abstract, through a statistical study of the needs of the unemployed for instance, we may be absolutely certain that our benevolence will be inadequate to their requirements. We may be intelligent and moral enough to react against abuses and flagrant injustice in a given organization of society but we are only rarely intelligent enough to question the basic assumptions upon which that particular social organization rests. Even if we bring ourselves to such a height of intellectual penetration and moral good will that we want an unjust society reorganized, as many liberals and intellectuals do, we are still less urgent in our demands than those who bear the brunt of injustice in their own lives.

SOCIAL change can only come, in short, through social struggle in which the interests of those who suffer from social injustice are pitted against the interests of those who benefit from it. Dominant and privileged groups do not yield their positions of eminence

voluntarily. If they are ignorant, they increase the injustices and multiply their cruelties in the furor of fear and hatred to which they become subject when their power is challenged. If they are intelligent, they yield under pressure; but pressure must be applied in any case, as it is impossible to secure so high an intelligence in an entire class as to guarantee complete objectivity in a social situation in which the interests of a group are involved. In every social situation reason always remains the servant of interest to a considerable degree. The social scientists who write as if this were only a passing phase of social evolution and as if mankind would become wholly reasonable just as soon as everyone had an opportunity to attend sociology classes, are confusing the political problem of society.

No moral theory of ethical idealism can get very far with the underlying political problems of justice if the necessity of social struggle is not recognized. Every ethical idealism which refuses to recognize this fact is fated to perform the subordinate task of painting the house of society. It is a necessary and useful task if the house is in fairly good condition; but if it should happen to be tottering and in need of an entirely new foundation, the painter's task will seem futile. That is why pure moralists, honored in periods of social stability, are such pitiful figures in our contemporary society. Their insistence that men ought to be kind and generous and intelligent and that greed has brought us to our present estate has a curious note of irrelevance about it. Moral idealism has resources for the purification of individual life; but without political implementation it is irrelevant to the problem of creating the foundations of rough justice, without which the refinements of justice, elaborated by intelligence and good will, become a terrible mockery.

Once we have accepted the necessity of a social struggle, we still have every opportunity to adopt methods of a political and economic nature which will conserve the most moral and social values. We may oppose violence because we regard it as a too wasteful method of achieving social change and as too fruitful of the fears and hatreds which make social inertia more stubborn. But we cannot oppose it on *a priori* grounds; because any social struggle, even a non-violent one, will have some immediate consequences of chaos which the conventional moralist will call evil but which the imaginative social analyst will justify in terms of ultimate consequences. We may decide to use chiefly political methods of social change. We will exploit the latent political power of those who are economically weak; we will organize the workers and the disinherited into parties which will try to put the power of the state behind them, thus compensating them for their weakness in economic society. We will discover that it is possible to use political society to equalize the

equalities which economic society creates; but we will also discover that there are limitations in this process which the romantic protagonists of the political method have not always fully realized. We may hope that the Western world will learn something from the East and experiment with types of non-violent resistance, in which whatever moral resources human beings possess are more fully appropriated than is the case in methods of violent resistance and coercion. But we may also discover that the moral and spiritual resources of the Western world, or the lack of them, will make it difficult to use this method as effectively as Gandhi uses it.

There is, in short, every possibility of exercising

the moral will and a high degree of social intelligence in the careful choice of methods of social conflict. A society which attacks its social problem in time, before resentments against injustice have reached such proportions that intelligent analysis of methods and means becomes impossible, will have all the greater opportunity of choosing those means which are most certain to lead to the end of justice without unnecessary violence or bloodshed. But the problem can be attacked in time only if the multitude of social idealists who now give themselves to its consideration cease confusing it by trying to stretch the moral and intellectual capacities of men beyond the limitations imposed by nature.

A Socialist Plan For Mining Coal

McALISTER COLEMAN

TO the observer on the sidelines, wars and war's rumors appear to be as much the everyday products of the coal industry as anthracite and bituminous. Strikes and lockouts, surging marches, misery and starvation, machine-guns and company thugs—these fill the picture of the state of affairs in an industry basic to our whole power civilization. To think of coal is to conjure up the clashing of "ignorant armies," to envision half-naked diggers shaking impotent fists against empty skies, to bring to mind all that we have been hearing for so many weary years of the cruel wastes of men and material throughout those desolate fields where now the stacks stand smokeless and the tipples belch no blackness.

Year in and year out we give to the relief of striking miners and their women and children, "the innocent victims of industrial warfare," as the appeals from a dozen organizations put it. And this is to the good. Yet sometimes the intelligent giver must wonder if there is to be no end to this continuous Macedonian cry from the embattled coal regions, if somehow we have not in America the collective brains to bring order out of the chaos that is coal.

If, when you picked this magazine up, you had commenced to make out a check to the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, at 112 East 19th Street, New York City, or any of the other agencies which are struggling to meet the immediate needs of the coal diggers, go right ahead and fill in the check. And then come back, if you will, and consider with us some of the methods that have been proposed for working our way out of the pits of despond into which operator, miner and the public alike have been plunged by the anarchy that holds this industry by the throat. Surely it is now evident to anyone who has given even casual

attention to the news from the coalfields that the situation there is becoming unbearable from every standpoint. Despite the amazing ability of the miners to take punishment, it is doubtful if they will go through another winter without widespread recourse to violence. They are not of the breed to starve to death in silence. And the luckless operators, with few exceptions, see themselves caught in the same thunderous fall as has overtaken their men.

HERE, then, is an industry, mudsill in its nature, employing more workers than any other American enterprise, an industry of prime importance to the health, comfort and general welfare of all the 120,000,000 of us, which is in all truth the rottenest apple in our national basket. And so far the best we can do for it is to investigate and investigate again, and make and file away ponderous reports on facts patent to the merest economic babe. It was in 1923 that the tax-payers of the country financed the Harding Coal Commission, headed by John Hays Hammond and including among its members George Otis Smith and Edward T. Devine. And it was two years later that a handful of curious-minded waded through the Commission's fat volumes of charts and statistics and tables and graphs, all of which proved that even then the coal industry in this country was very much on the skids. And now nine years have passed, and the bulk of the findings of that commission still holds good; and still true is the satiric conclusion of *The Case of Bituminous Coal*, by Hamilton and Wright: "In a jumble of mines which the natives love to call the bituminous coal industry, it is proper for each individual to do good that evil may come of it." That conclusion was penned in 1926 after the authors had surveyed the "strange case of bituminous coal" and, looking at it

from the point of view of the Man from Neptune, had written:

When a fling at coal mining is a gambler's desperate adventure; when coal operators in action undo each other's sound judgments; when bankruptcy is likely to visit the efficient as well as the inefficient; when the laborer's skill has lost its market and his job is likely to flit; when livings and standards of work and of safety are threatened by the lack of an agency to maintain them; when the kaleidoscope pattern of the industry bears one design this month, and another the next; when no one knows even statistically what a day may bring forth; when the parties to the industry are so confused that they call upon the causes of the current plight to maintain order, he wonders where, oh where, the goodly promises of the competitive ideal to the coal industry have fled.

THESE lugubrious observations I maintain are truer today than ever before. Despite many belated moves towards consolidation, competition goes on cutting its manifold throats in the coal fields. Such concentration as there is does not lie so much in present production as in the control of reserves. In bituminous coal, as Dr. Harry Laidler points out in his book *Concentration in American Industry*, thirty large producers mine about one-third of the average output, while the four largest companies in the industry control about twenty per cent of the tonnage available for mining within the next forty years.

Under the present arrangement, then, if in sheer despair over the prospects for continuing the present suicidal competition, the coal-masters work out some scheme for consolidation, the consumers have nothing more cheerful in sight than an encroaching and unregulated monopoly in which the names of Morgan, Mellon, and Rockefeller loom threateningly. Yet even that would be better than the situation where some six thousand bituminous mines are wedged, as one observer has put it, between the progress of technique in two fields—an engineering technique making greater production the easiest and most efficient production, and an engineering technique eating into the demand for its output." Another way of telling the old story, "too many mines and too many miners." One-quarter of our soft coal mines could produce all the coal now dug in the 6,000 mines by working 300 days in the year, and the present working force of 600,000 men could be cut in half and still meet the nation's requirements without increasing the average daily output per man.

But are we willing to see a plutocratic dictatorship displace a competitive anarchy without even an attempt at democracy? Some of us are not. Nor are we content with mere shirt-tearing over the situation or the altruistic satisfaction of meeting the pleas for relief. We want no more costly research into matters so well and unfavorably known. We want a plan for running coal so that consumers shall have cheap and abundant fuel and the miners good wages and secure and steady jobs.

One of the tragedies of the coal chaos is that there are such plans, ready at hand, and that there is a common demand for their execution. Instead, the present confusion becomes worse confounded. There are, to begin with, three parties most concerned with a specially-engineered planning of coal—the engineers themselves, at present helpless pawns in the clumsy hands of the coal-masters; the workers, and the consumers. Even though the majority of the owners of the small mines, the perennial "snow-birds," as they are known in the industry, are forced to the wall by Rockefeller, Morgan, Mellon, et al., the engineers have no guarantee of status, or even of decent salaries for that matter; the workers certainly have no prospects of anything approaching what might be considered a living wage by any civilized standards, and the public cannot be assured of good, cheap coal.

LET us assume that a labor and farmer party has come into power in the United States with a program for the socialization of basic industries and natural resources. How will it go to work to bring these three interested parties together for the public ownership and operation of the coal mines?

Some years ago, before ever the Five Year Plan was conceived in Moscow, and before the American economists began drawing blue prints, the miners themselves submitted proposals for the running of the coal industry which I recommend for reconsideration in this present crisis. John Brophy, head of the Pennsylvania soft coal miners at the time, was made chairman of a nationalization committee of the then powerful United Mine Workers of America. He sat down with men who knew the ways of coal from the face to the bin and drew up a plan which received the endorsement of two conventions of the U. M. W. of A. and of an important cross-section of American consumers as well. His nationalization plans were studiously ignored by the reactionary head of the union, the notorious John L. Lewis, who has done his good bit in bringing the industry to its knees, and eventually Brophy was driven from the organization. His plan remains, however, in my opinion, the most important contribution to the democratization and eventual socialization of the coal industry that has been proffered in this country.

Recognizing the all-important role played by coal in our economic structure, a party pledged to socialism would, on coming into power, at once nationalize the mines and place in its cabinet a Secretary of Mines. With the coal needs of the country in mind, the high priced, uneconomical mines would be closed down and the production established on an economical basis to meet those needs. Coal and water power would be coördinated in Giant Power Districts. "Giant power," exclaimed Stuart Chase in *The Tragedy of Waste*, "is one of the bravest and most exhilarating glimpses of

topia which engineers and scientists have ever dreamed." The burning of coal and formation of its by-products at the pit-mouths and its transformation into electrical energy in nation-wide Giant Power pools would no longer be a Utopian dream if we had intelligent nationalization. There would be an immediate check to the ruthless waste of this invaluable black resource of ours which has gone so far that today it is estimated that at least half the yearly tonnage of coal is regularly lost underground, (i.e., for one ton taken out, another is left unreclaimable below ground), and since the coal is on top similar wastes are permitted by ineffective utilization.

MR. F. T. BAUM, an experienced engineer, suggested that the country be divided into twelve districts fitted with connecting transmission lines, and that power be drawn from water and coal jointly, with the coal converted into energy at the mines. This method, he said would save the country two hundred million tons of coal a year, take 25 per cent of the traffic from the railroads, rid us of the smoke nuisance and release half a million men from the mines and railroads, enabling them to work in more immediately productive pursuits.

This suggestion was made, of course, before the present industrial and financial collapse, and today there may be a certain irony in the thought of "releasing half a million miners for more productive pursuits." The whole plan, however, presupposes socialization, where needs rather than profits are the goals of production. Under such circumstances the release of labor for more productive pursuits is no longer fanciful. At the outset, as Stuart Chase has suggested, men would be employed in building dams and transmission lines and set to work in the by-product plants, while those who still labored underground could work at progressively shortened hours at increased wages.

Such, in rough outline, would be the mechanical scheme of a socialized coal industry. What about the human arrangement? Once more our three parties enter the picture, and we watch with no regrets the exit of the present owners. Now over our Giant Power Districts rule Tripartite Boards, consisting of representatives of the technicians, the workers and the consumers, and responsible to a central authority at Washington which coördinates all their activities, again with the needs of the country for cheap and abundant fuel always uppermost.

Having agitated for such a plan for the past ten years, I am under no delusions that it offers any easy panacea. The knotty questions as to whether the present owners shall be compensated, after the right of eminent domain has been exercised by the new state; the nice divisions of responsibility among the members of the boards of management and control; the setting up of


safeguards against the sort of bureaucracy which has done so much to nullify the well-laid plans of the Russians—these are problems no easier of solution than the central problem of industrial democracy itself. Yet they can and must be tackled if there is still courage and intelligence left among those of us who believe in socialism.

More and more, workers and white-collar men are turning to us in these dark days for concrete proposals. "What definite proposals have you Socialists for the ending of unemployment and the adequate meeting of human needs?" How often have we heard that challenge of late. It is not to be met by merely assuring the challenger that if he comes along with us, socialism will take care of all that. We must get to the hard facts of matters like soft coal, for example, and apply to them our socialist formulae.

Those who are anxious to maintain the status quo are now agitating for changes in the anti-trust laws which will permit unregulated monopoly to rule the coal fields. Liberals are urging planning under a mildly modified capitalism. Communists are pressing for throwing out the baby with the bath. Socialists, who mean business, must have brass-tack proposals for running such a basic industry as coal. I make no claims for novelty for the tripartite plan of management and control I have outlined; nor is it to be taken as emanating from any "official" sources inside the Socialist Party. It is, in the opinion of one individual Socialist, a realistic approach to the ending of what has come to be a national tragedy, the long-played and profoundly bitter tragedy of the coal industry.

Blazing a New Path

In one country and one only, Bolshevik Russia, the first attempt in history is being made, on a vast scale, to reconstruct society on the basis of the principle: "He that will not work, neither shall he eat. . . ." What is wrong with Bolshevik Russia is not its goal, but its method, which is that of violence and dictatorship by a minority. Those evils, it is true, were forced upon Russia by the greater evil of the Tsardom, and by the desperate efforts of the old regime, supported by this country, to overthrow the Revolution by force. That, however, does not destroy and should not conceal the significance of the Bolshevik Revolution. For Russia, in spite of agonies, cruelties, and follies, is blazing the path for the world. The economic system she is determined to establish is the right one; it is the means that she has been compelled to adopt that are wrong. The Western world might, if it would, reach the same goal by a process less bloody and destructive. But for that we shall need the conviction and the work of the young.—*The late G. Lowes Dickinson in The Living Age, August, 1932.*



Not in the

Southern Textile Slavery

The Labor Research Association reports on the Southern textile industry. Cotton mills in Georgia pay workers \$3.50 to \$9 for 60 hours. A skilled worker at High Point, N. C., made exactly \$4.40 in four days. At Salisbury, N. C., laborers are working off grocery bills contracted at company stores. No cash gets into their pay envelopes. At Greenville, S. C., the average wage of cotton workers is \$9.56 a week. A worker in Greenville with a family of seven made \$78.64 in eight weeks. If this amount were spent for food alone, it would allow only seven cents a meal for each member of the family.

Vote for Proposition No. 1

New York voters are urged by the Citizens' Committee on the Unemployment Emergency Relief Bond Issue, under the chairmanship of Elihu Root, to vote affirmatively on Proposition Number 1, authorizing a 30 million dollar bond issue for home relief of the unemployed.

Theological Student Imprisoned

Jacques Martin, a French Protestant theological student, was recently sentenced by a military tribunal in France to one year in prison for refusal on grounds of conscience to respond to a call for three weeks' reserve military service.

Iowans Burn 13-Cent Corn

The Associated Press reports that prices are so low that corn from ten acres will keep an average farmhouse warm throughout the winter. Engineers at Iowa State College have calculated that farmers in that state can burn corn as cheaply as they can purchase Iowa-mined coal and more cheaply than they can secure anthracite at present prices.

Japanese Athletes Resented Discrimination

A report from Tokyo indicates resentment on the part of Japanese athletes at the Olympics against discrimination in restaurants and other public places in Los Angeles. Members of the Japanese team say that they were met at the door with the information, "Mexicans are not admitted," and that they received even worse treatment when they replied that they were Japanese.

Teachers for Thomas?

A straw vote of extraordinary interest, so far as the value of such votes may be estimated as of any importance, was recently taken at the Buffalo State Teachers' College. The faculty voted as follows: for Hoover, 35; for Roosevelt, 257; for Thomas, 224.

Unemployed Lose Citizen's Rights

Laws providing that poorer citizens may not vote are on the statute books of some 12 states. There is an old law in Maine which provides that people who have received public aid may be deprived of their right to vote. The Board of Registration in Lewiston struck off the names of 350 unemployed who had received municipal relief.

Wisconsin Intelligentsia

In the recent Wisconsin primary elections, John B. Chapple, patrioteer after the D. A. R.'s own heart and Don Quixote of capitalism, won the nomination for United States Senator. In the state as a whole, Chapple was only a few thousand ahead. In the professorial district of Madison, where the university people vote, Chapple's lead was two to one.

Democratic Candidate Repudiates Doggerel

Mr. Robert R. Reynolds, Democratic nominee for United States Senator from North Carolina, has repudiated anti-Negro doggerel circulated by some of his supporters, with the statement: "In my opinion the day of appealing to race prejudice and hatred has long since passed and I shall never knowingly be a party to arousing this ill feeling and hatred in North Carolina."

Culture Imports

The *Tagebuch* calls attention to the new quarterly issued by the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation. It is called *Index Translationum* and is devoted to a survey of translations from other languages in England, Germany, France, Italy, Spain, and the United States. The first issue lists 915 books and pamphlets. Italy is at the top of the list with 228 translations, then follow in order France with 224, Spain with 142, England with 110, the United States with 108, and finally Germany with 103. The Italian list covers the widest range of subjects, the French and American lists are discriminating, the British, on the contrary, is disappointing.

Child Labor

The National Child Labor Commission reports that about 700,000 children from 10 to 15 years of age were at work in the United States in 1930. About 230,000 of these were 13 years of age or under. About 20,000 boys and girls under 16 suffer industrial injuries every year; these, 100 are killed and another 1,000 are maimed for life.

Must Get Along on \$800 Per Month

Seven-year-old John Mortimer Cowan must be satisfied with an allowance of \$800 per month, ruled a Jersey City judge, in rejecting a plea by his mother for payments of \$17,500 annually.

Hunger as Recruiting Sergeant

In 1913 in Great Britain 46,133 recruits tried to enlist in the army; in 1931 applicants numbered 82,682. The hunger wrought in the young manhood of Britain by low wages and hunger is vividly reflected in the rejections: 12,277 in 1913, 42,029 in 1931.

For Married Women Workers

An organization to be known as the National Association of Working Women, whose purpose is to band together one million married working women to combat any attempt to drive them out of industry, has been launched in Indianapolis.

Training Prison Officials in Japan

The world's oldest training school for prison administration is in Japan. It has already graduated about 2,000 prison officials. Among the subjects included in the curriculum are American and European prison systems, criminal law, criminal procedure, criminal psychology, the care of discharged prisoners, the history and purpose of prison administration.

Germany's Biggest Union

The biggest labor union of the capitalist world, the German Metal Workers' Union, which despite a 12 per cent loss still has 826,000, recently issued a report on the situation of the metal industry in 1931 and on its activities. The report shows that production of pig iron in 1931 decreased to 6,100,000 tons as against 13,400,000 tons in 1929, while that of steel decreased in the same period from 16,200,000 tons to 8,300,600. With only 37.3 per cent of its membership working full time, while 33.4 per cent were entirely unemployed in 1931, the union spent 30,500,000 marks (\$7,625,000) in the form of benefits to its needy members.

Headlines

Five-Day Week Lags

The five-day week is making progress slowly, according to a survey made by the National Industrial Conference Board among 1,503 factories. Of these only 114 were operating on the five-day week; 25 had used the short week before the crisis. Of the 89 remaining, less than half are certain they want to continue the plan though another quarter of them may desire to do so. The report points out that a struggle impends as to whether the shorter work week shall be at the old hourly rate or at the old weekly rate—whether the employer or the laborer shall bear the cost of the change.

Doctors Become Chauffeurs

At least 20 licensed physicians in New York City have been compelled by the depression to abandon their profession and to take employment as chauffeurs, while 12 others are known to be engaged in writing insurance.

Secretary Mills Moves Against Discrimination

In response to a communication from C. Arnold Hill of the National Urban League, Secretary of the Treasury Mills has instructed all engineers in charge of the construction of Federal buildings to see to it that there is "no discrimination exercised against any person because of color or religious affiliation."

Nazi Economic Theory

Dr. Wilhelm Frick is the leading political theorist of the German Nazis. Asked for his economic program, Frick replied: "Thank God, we have no economic program. We're out to purify German politics and absolutely reject the gross materialism that lies in the question of an economic program."

Racially Pure Marriages

One aim of the German Fascists is "the maintenance of a congenitally healthy German Nordic species." Having failed to pass their bill for a "racial office," the Nazi leadership made their "race regulations" obligatory among their Storm Troops. One paragraph of the regulations reads: "Any member of the Storm Troops who intends to marry . . . must enclose with his application for marriage sanction the genealogical tables of himself and his fiancée, hereditary health certificates of himself and his fiancée, and a complete record of his and his fiancée's reputation."

Land Monopoly in Britain

Out of the 37,234,263 acres of land in England and Wales, about 27,500,000 are owned by a few more than 37,000 people. Over 20 million people do not own a single plot of ground.

Segregation Banned in Denver

Judge Sackman of Denver has issued a writ of mandamus against segregation of Negroes at public bathing places in that city. An effort had been made to confine the use of public swimming pools by colored people to certain days and hours.

Unemployment and Minimum Standards

The American Federation of Labor estimates that there are at present 40,000,000 people in the United States living below minimum standards for health and efficiency.

National Government Losing Prestige

Listing the last nine by-election contests in Great Britain, the British Labor Party points out that the total vote for the candidates in these districts of the National Government has dropped from 247,999 in 1931 to 149,188 in 1932—a loss of nearly 40 per cent in less than a year of the National Government's tenure of office.

It Pays to Save One's Country

Hitler's private income is reported to be about \$114,250 a year, derived as follows: 50 per cent of net income of Nazi publishing house, \$60,000; 20 per cent of admission fees to his meetings, \$50,000; salary as chief of party, \$3,000; salary as Brunswick legation secretary, \$1,250. For "unforeseen emergencies" Hitler is said to have a reserve of \$750,000 in Switzerland.

Pacifist Camp Successful

Final figures on the youth camp held under the auspices of the War Resisters International last August on Lille Oxeø, a small island in Flensborg Fiord, an inlet of the Baltic between Denmark and Germany, show that 160 young people from 14 countries attended, participating in group discussion, outdoor activity, and planning for the growth of international pacifism. "Youth, War Resistance, and Revolution" and "International Youth Cooperation Against War" were the subjects of the main discussion courses led respectively by Harold Bing (Youth Representative on the W.R.I. Council) and Franz Rona (Youth Secretary of the W.R.I.).

Last Marines to Leave Nicaragua

Plans have been made for the evacuation of the remaining 700 United States Marines in Nicaragua by next February. This action is in accordance with the announced policy of withdrawing our armed forces from Caribbean countries.

A New Low Level

Farm wages have reached the lowest level on record since 1902, reports the Department of Agriculture. The average rate for the entire country is \$1.19 per day without board, and as low as 60 cents in South Carolina, Georgia, and Mississippi.

Vacancy on Peace Commission Filled

Former President Pessoa of Brazil has accepted an appointment to the International Commission provided for by the Treaty for the Advancement of Peace between the United States and Great Britain, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of ex-Ambassador Jusserand.

Patriotism

The French journal *Esprit Français* is conducting a symposium on patriotism. George Bernard Shaw contributed the following: "Patriotism is a pernicious psychopathic form of idiocy. It is the only force that leads to war without reason. A patriot regards a foreigner as vermin without the right to live because he thinks his own country the best."

The Government and Industrial Slavery

In Tennessee a government contractor is paying his men 15 cents an hour and is working them 9 hours a day. He defended this condition by the statement that he was swamped by men willing to work for 10 cents an hour.

Why Not Prevent Them?

The Inspector of Mines for the North Midland Division, covering the coalfields of Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, and Leicestershire, in England, has made an annual report in which he declares that "of the 498 accidents during the year, 21 were due to defective plant or breach of rules by officials, 32 were due to breach of rules by workmen, 198 were due to lack of ordinary care and foresight, and 247 were unavoidable. Half the total number of accidents were deemed by the investigating inspectors and myself to be preventable."

Pacifists Prefer Thomas

J. B. MATTHEWS

IF those social radicals who call themselves pacifists were electing the next president of the United States, November 8 would witness a landslide for Norman Thomas. The Fellowship of Reconciliation is the largest organized body of pacifists in this country; in fact it is the largest single group of war resisters in the world, according to the latest report of the War Resisters' International. Its membership, consisting of almost eight thousand men and women drawn chiefly from the professional groups of this country, has just been polled and shows a sweeping tendency to support the Socialist candidate. Seventeen hundred and nine members voted in this poll, with the following results:

Thomas	1284, or 75.1%
Hoover	348, or 20.4%
Roosevelt	49, or 2.9%
Foster	28, or 1.6%

A Socialist member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation may be proud of the fact that three-fourths of his fellow pacifists are sufficiently realistic in their approach to the problem of war to cast their votes for Norman Thomas. But there is a disturbing element in this tabulation which gives 20 per cent to Herbert Hoover, which, if true of the entire membership, means that 1,600 pacifists will give their votes this year to a man whose every political thought and act is calculated to defend the interests of a selfish owning class while millions are stricken with the curse of joblessness and starvation. Some have jumped to the conclusion that this large percentage for Hoover as contrasted with the small figure for Roosevelt is due to the large proportion of Quakers in our membership. This, I am happy to say in defense of the Quakers, does not seem to be the case. In the State of Pennsylvania, where most of our Quaker members are concentrated, the Hoover percentage was only 20.5, or a fraction below the general average for the whole country. There was no appreciable variation from state to state. The Hoover percentage for 13 Southern states was, for example, 23.6. There seems to be a marked tendency in this country for Protestant church people to be Republican in their politics. It is the fact of the essentially Protestant membership of the Fellowship that probably accounts for the disproportionate Hoover vote. The disturbing element, then, in our tabulation is the supporting evidence which it offers of the fact that Protestant Christianity tends to be aligned with the Republican Party. What surer road to suicide!

Interesting indeed is the fact that Roosevelt who

has just returned from the West, where he has been hailed by men like Senator Norris as the great emancipating liberal, receives such slight consideration from a group containing as many liberals as the Fellowship. Certainly not all of the 75 per cent who tend to vote for Thomas are party members or even convinced Socialists, but neither are they deluded by the claims of liberalism now being made in behalf of Roosevelt. Liberalism as a political movement has collapsed in this country and has no candidate in the field this year. The best that liberals can do is to vote for Thomas and do a little flirting with socialism until they discover the fact of the class struggle and embrace the full Socialist program.

The recognition of capitalism as a war system rapidly spreading through the ranks of those who are working for peace. Many of those who first approached modern social problems through the peace movement have come to see that capitalism with its competitive nationalism and imperialism can no more establish an enduring peace than greed can be transformed into generosity. Specific wars may be averted under capitalism, but war itself will be ended only with the establishment of a commonwealth of socialist nations which have organized their economic life around the principle of production for use instead of for profit. The peace ideal which has often been so unreal and sentimental in character is effectively vitalized when linked to a program of thoroughgoing social revolution that goes to the roots of international conflict in the modern world. While socialism makes this important contribution to pacifism, the latter also offers a technique of non-violent resistance which places socialism on a plane of strategy far above the romantic foolishness of those radicals who talk about breaking open the armories to seize first guns, then power. The Hoovers will always have the best of the argument when it comes to repelling the expeditionary forces of the dispossessed.

But violence is elemental stuff, raw and primitive and the despairing will finally resort to it even in the face of almost certain defeat, unless there is effective education for social pressures that cannot be resisted. In this field lies the unique opportunity of current pacifism. Preliminary to any degree of success is a closer alignment of pacifists with social radicals than has been characteristic of peace-makers in the past. There is hope that the overwhelming preference of pacifists for Thomas in the coming election is more than a straw at which we clutch.

The Future of Christianity In India

H. A. POPLEY

WHAT is likely to be the attitude of Swaraj India towards Christian Missions? What should be the attitude of Christian Missions to the problems of modern India? When we talk of modern India we mean the New India that has developed within the last 20 years, the India surging with nationalism and demanding freedom; an India strongly influenced by the scientific attitude of the modern world and an India passing through all the various phases of economic, social, and political change which occupied centuries in Western countries. I think it is pretty clear that India will stand for religious freedom. The whole of India's past history suggests that the grant of religious freedom will be a characteristic of Swaraj India. Both the Unity Conference and the Nehru Report, as well as the Lahore Congress Resolutions, have laid down the establishment of religious freedom as an essential condition of Swaraj India. This religious freedom will, we believe, include the right to teach one's religion, subject to such safeguards as may be necessary from time to time.

There is at present a difference of opinion as to whether the future Indian State should be neutral to all religions or impartially protect them all. The whole Hindu trend of thought has been for the State to protect the various religions and to grant them facilities for their work. The first Christian Church in Travancore was built with the help of generous grants from the Maharajah. The Nehru Report, however, advocated strict neutrality as a negative attitude to all religions, leaving them free but giving privileges to none. It is not possible to say now whether neutrality or impartiality will be the attitude adopted. Foreign missionaries who come as friends and comrades to serve India will, we believe, be heartily welcomed, and no attempt is likely to be made to keep them out. The popular philosophy today is contained in the phrase that all religions are the same or lead to the same goal and there is a general prevalence of a cosmopolitan religious outlook. The Hindu mind is naturally synthetic in its trend as Sri Ramakrishna and other religious leaders have illustrated. From time immemorial India has always had a respect for real religion wherever found and we may be sure that the truly religious man will always find a home and welcome in India.

In the attitude of Christian Missions towards modern India we are dealing with a problem which faces those of us who are Christians. We have to determine what is to be our attitude to this new pro-

gressive India of which we are a part. I would suggest that the following principles should determine the attitude of Christian Missions:

First, complete acceptance of the idea of Indian nationality and of our place in it. It is important that we should get rid of our foreign outlook and our foreign ways and habits, especially in our religious life. We do not want to be, as Mahatma Gandhi once said, mere "blotting sheets of Western civilization." In the past the Hindu social system may have made it a little difficult for Christians to realize that they truly belonged to India, but the attitude of the Hindus today and the growing tolerance among the people generally is making it much easier for us to realize our Indian nationality.

Second, abandonment of the old attitude of religious superiority and religious imperialism. The purpose of Christian missions should not be proselytization, but rather the sharing of our religious experience with Hindus and Moslems and the helping to build Christlike characters and a Christlike society. If Christianity as a religion is superior to other religions, this can only be demonstrated by experience and example and not by argument. Christian Missions should avoid all abuse of other faiths and seek to present the truth they have received in the spirit of Christ.

Third, emphasis upon service rather than upon preaching. It is in Christlike service that our missions can best reveal the spirit of Christ. It must, however, be a service which partakes of the spirit of Nishkamya Karma—which does not have in view the end of proselytization. It must be a service that is really concerned for the needs of the poor and of workers in industry and rural people.

If Christian Missions are able in the future to face India in this spirit, we do not believe that India will wish to see less of them or will in any way treat them as unnecessary. India believes in religion, and, while she has no use for the kind of religious imperialism which has sometimes masqueraded as religion, she will always welcome true religion especially when it is expressed in the form of service. Said Mahadev Govind Ranade: "This is the land of religion; we cannot do without religion; religious thoughts are in our blood. If we try to flee from it, it will pursue us."

If we will set our house in order and realize that we are part of Swaraj India, we can carry on our work, in the confidence that India will afford us all the opportunity we require for Christlike evangelism.—(Reprinted from *The Guardian*.)



The Book End

Popularizing the Dismal Science

The Economic Foundation of Business. Edited by W. E. Spahr. Long and Smith. 2 Vol., \$8.00.

A Preface to Economics. By Broadus Mitchell. Henry Holt. \$3.50.

Prelude to Economics. By William Aylott Orton. Little Brown. \$1.60.

THE *Economic Foundation of Business* is the product of members of the department of economics in the school of commerce, accounts and finance of New York University. These volumes are competent and comprehensive, but unexciting. The writing is nearly always pedestrian, frequently obscure, and sometimes ungrammatical; poor rhetoric and poor sub-titling conspire to make choppy going. This style is for recitation, not illumination. Luckily, the content, when you can force yourself to pay attention to it, is much better. There is a dash of economic history and a general analysis of production, marketing, value and distribution. Several of the specific topics receive much better treatment than is customary in an introductory text, particularly public finance. The point of view is comparatively realistic and comparatively critical of the claim made by the *status quo* to special economic sanction. But, while assiduous in mentioning all the facts visible on the surface of their problems, the authors seem to have been stricken rather seriously by a disease epidemic among popularizers—to take the need for simple statement and careful explanation as license to avoid probing. They should be told that it is often profitable for beginners to have their instructor spend time helping them analyze an intricate but vital issue even at the cost of not completely "covering" the subject.

Broadus Mitchell's *A Preface to Economics* is surprising to one who has previously known the author only as a gentlemanly radical speaker at L. I. D. meetings. His book is probably the most delightful elementary exposition that orthodox neo-classical theory ever had. His lively humor is charming, but it deserves a better subject. Neo-classical theory is not useless, but it is open to at least this three-fold indictment: Some of its conclusions are inaccurate even under the assumed conditions. Some of its assumed conditions were always too far from actual life to be of much help in analyzing it, and still others which once had a fairly close correspondence to reality have found reality slipping away from them. And finally, little of the aid toward understanding which it still can give is for the layman. Mitchell's discussion (in dealing with rent and profits, for example) affords cogent support for that indictment. Moreover, he omits several problems of outstanding importance in present-day economic society, advertising among them. But his sections on labor and socialism are valuable, and the numerous biographical sketches of leading figures in the history of economic thought are fascinating. All in all, the surprised reviewer is reminded by this book that fortunately it is not necessary that complete unity in the descriptive task of explaining what

With occasional exceptions important enough to merit direct criticism, THE WORLD TOMORROW reviews only books which, after careful evaluation, are of genuine worth.

is shall precede measurable unity in the ethical tasks of appraising what is and moving toward what ought to be.

William Aylott Orton's *Prelude to Economics* is a brief but mighty in its quiet way. It is not a comprehensive introduction to economics, but an introduction to introductions; and undue attention is paid to references for further reading. The material is presented interestingly, and for the most part lucidly vague concepts are made more useful by sharp definition of their essential elements. For example, by capitalism, says Mr. Orton, "we mean a system in which, first, the ownership of the principal means of production, including land, is vested in a minority of private persons; second, the right to direct economic activity is associated with ownership as such; and third, the quest for unlimited acquisition is accepted as individually meritorious and socially useful." When realism invades both content and method—witness the discussions on money, wages, and the connection between inequality and recurrent crises; and one can only wish the invasion had pushed a little farther to demolish some outworn phraseology in the chapter on rent and the time-honored arrangement of the distribution analysis. The author is a philosopher, but not a closet philosopher. He is a welfare economist; that is, he approaches description from the angle of appraisal and change. Perhaps the iron has not entered into his soul as far as some of us would like, but he recognizes that you cannot do much by patching here and there, and that coercion is a necessary factor in social change.

PATRICK M. MALIN

A Communist Manifesto

Toward Soviet America. By William Z. Foster. Coward McCann. \$2.50.

THE leader of the Communist Party in America has written a systematic and well-documented defense of the communist cause. Mr. Foster's book is essentially a prophesy. The prophetic thesis is that capitalism is in the last stages of decay the world over; that it will perish in those countries first where the life of capitalism is weakest—Germany for instance—and that America is bound to follow the same logic of history which is being revealed in other nations. Mr. Foster is convinced that the inability of capitalism to return to the worker a consuming power commensurate with his production power represents an inherent contradiction in capitalism which seals its doom. He is equally convinced that every form of radicalism other than communism merely tends to bolster a declining system, and all such forms of radicalism, including socialism and the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, are therefore placed in the category "social fascism." Mr. Foster recognizes the present conservatism of both the industrial and the middle classes of America, but he is certain that in a country in which 87 per cent of the people control only 10 per cent of the wealth communism is just as logical as it was in Russia.

There is much that is convincing and illuminating in Mr. Foster's defense of communism. He fails, however, to deal with the difference between a highly developed industrial country such as our own and Russia, where industry is being built from the ground up, and he does not throw any light upon differences in political and social consequences of a revolution in such divergent social systems. In his final chapter he paints a rather idyllic picture of conditions in a Soviet America in which he overestimates the ethical capacities of human nature about as much as liberalism has done. All the messianism of true communism is in the book. The sophisticated reader will discover a large element of illusion in Foster's hopes but perhaps that is the inevitable quality which nature gives to those who fight what seems a hopeless cause.

The least convincing part of Foster's treatise is his insistence that every form of radicalism which is not communism belongs to the category of "social fascism," and not only serves to perpetuate the status quo but is actually designed for that purpose. Even his former comrade-in-arms, Mr. Lovestone, is included in this category, and the Socialists are of course treated with utmost scorn. If catastrophe is as inevitable and as desirable as Mr. Foster imagines, his conclusions are plausible; all of them at least except those in which he impugns the sincerity of non-communist radicals. Yet one cannot help but feel that social catastrophe for a modern industrial state is a more terrible fate than Mr. Foster envisages, and redemption through catastrophe a less certain outcome than he romantically assumes.

R.N.

War Without Glamour

Time Stood Still. By Paul Cohen-Portheim. E. P. Dutton and Company. \$3.00.

AN aspect of the World War rarely touched upon in the flood of war literature that has come from the press in recent years is treated in this chronicle of an interned enemy alien. Paul Cohen-Portheim happened to be visiting in England with English friends at the outbreak of hostilities in 1914. After a time of devastating uncertainty he was shipped to Knockaloe, at that time the newest and crudest of the internment camps hastily built to receive the enemy aliens residing in England.

In yielding to public pressure to round up enemy aliens at once, the British government found itself unable to house them decently. When the unfortunate thousands arrived at the camp, they found no sanitary facilities, small opportunity to provide themselves with such necessities as soap and towels, and no possibility of any useful work allowed them. The fact that many of the prisoners had saved all their lives under the British flag, that some knew scarcely any German, that others were united by the closest ties of business and family to the Allies' cause did not prevent their detention during the entire war. That was part and parcel of the system which permitted visitors but rarely and then only in the presence of a heavy guard, encumbered every movement with the giving or withholding of permits, provided for no privacy and held the men in a state which practically enforced idleness for years on end. These were, perhaps, small matters in comparison to the agonies and terrors suffered by men in service at the front. The author never loses sight of that fact. What interned men did suffer which soldiers did not was a disheartening sense of futility.

Under such circumstances one might expect men to go insane. Some prisoners did. Other fought that specter with trumped-up occupations and interests. For Cohen-Portheim the internment years meant a turning inward to an intensive life of the mind or spirit and eventually produced this moving autobiography.

It is a story of a drab experience—an experience so different from the usual war narrative that it needs the sure, skillful touch of an artist to make it live. That it is a vividly fascinating volume is due as much to the excellence of Cohen-Portheim's style as to the substance of the story. He has told what he has to tell with such fairness, so completely without grudge, that he claims his readers' confidence. His is an intuitive mind, coming at problems from the emotional as well as the intellectual angle, which makes his treatment of this particular experience doubly significant.

RACHEL DUNAWAY COX

Death for Profits

Death and Profits: A Study of the War Policies Commission. By Seymour Waldman. Brewer, Warren & Putnam. 156 pages. \$1.50.

NOW and then some event casts a lurid light upon our civilization and reveals, to all who will see, the precise character of the social order under which we live. Of such a nature was the recent activity of the War Policies Commission as told in the arresting little volume by Seymour Waldman. The War Policies Commission and its background have a history of almost ten years. Since 1922 the American Legion has been agitating for the "drafting of the dollar" along with the drafting of men in the next war. The tragic-comic outcome of this agitation has been the War Policies Commission.

The ex-service men were bitter over the fact that while they were pushed into the jaws of death for a dollar a day, enormous profits were being made by skilled mechanics, arms manufacturers, and "plain grafters" thousands of miles away from the battlefield. They urged that in the next war all profits be made impossible. This arrangement, they declared, would act as a powerful deterrent against war and at the same time make the whole war machine more efficient. There is some merit to the argument. Meanwhile the War Department was going ahead, despite the Kellogg Pact and solemn governmental proclamations urging reduction of armaments, with its plans for "industrial mobilization." About 14,000 industrialists were enlisted by the War Department, ready to produce everything needed in war at very short notice. But there still remained the demand of the powerful Legion. The War Policies Commission was appointed to study amending the Constitution so that private property may be taken by the government during war. Thus it remained only to harmonize the "industrial mobilization" of the War Department with the demand of the Legion to take all profit out of war.

Hearings were held and the patriotic industrialists duly appeared to testify. Of course they would gladly help so that the country would be ready in the next "national emergency." Nothing the government might not ask of them. But—they must make a reasonable profit, say six per cent. How were they to be kept down to six per cent? Well, they did not know exactly. Checking was difficult, manipulation of accounts easy, profiteering had always occurred, even in peace times. The government had best put faith in their patriotism.

And the Legion? Now was the time for frank speech. The entire country was listening. Would the Legion now stand up for its plan of "conscripting wealth"? Irony of ironies! The Legion leaders appeared and agreed that they believed seven per cent profit was about right for the industrialists. Was ever a plan thus shamefully betrayed?

What does the whole business mean? In plain words, the great industrialists serve notice on the country that human lives are far cheaper to them than their profits. Let men be drafted and dragged from their homes by threats and force, let them go through the agony and danger of war, let them die by the thousands—at a dollar a day; but for heaven's sake do not imagine that the great industrialists will be of any aid—unless they get their profits. That would be against the Constitution, it would be communism, bolshevism, the destruction of sacred rights. Only an agent of Moscow would have thought of such a plan. Give them their profits and the industrialists will wave the flag, denounce the pacifists, and "save the country for democracy." But don't let the government imagine that while it sends thousands to their death that it can get any coöperation from the industrialists—without profits.

The sessions of the War Policies Commission and the betrayal by the Legion leaders of its own program reveal clearly the unsocial, greedy and ruthless character of industrial leadership under capitalism. Death for the soldier, profits for the industrialists. Thus forever that unholy alliance—militarism and capitalism.

H. C. ENGELBRECHT

WE RECOMMEND

That Strange Little Brown Man Gandhi. By Frederick B. Fisher. Ray Long and Richard R. Smith, Inc. \$2.50. Bishop Fisher is qualified by long residence in India and deep sympathy with Indian aspirations to interpret the significance of Mahatma Gandhi in his revolutionary setting. The volume is readable and reliable.

Economic Science and the Common Welfare. By Harry Gunnison Brown. Lucas Bros. 472 pages. Not long ago a new textbook in economics boasted that economists were now "scholarly" and "impartial" and were no longer seducing students into socialism. The book in question was, of course, thoroughly capitalist. Brown's book is rather different. It faces concrete problems which are very urgent now and shows the economic implications of various solutions. It is most encouraging to find a textbook which deals with the student as if he were an adult and reasoning human being.

A Survey of the Negro Boy in Nashville, Tennessee. Edited by W. D. Weatherford, Ph.D. Association Press. 157 pages. \$2.00. A thorough and comprehensive study of the physical, social and educational needs of the young Negro in Nashville, compiled by the staff of the Y. M. C. A. Graduate School of that city.

The Causes of War, edited by Arthur Porritt. Macmillan Co. \$1.50. An excellent study of the various complex elements which enter into the problem of international strife. Contains articles by Arthur Salter, G. A. Johnston, C. F. Andrews, Henry A. Atkinson, A. Yusuf Ali, J. Arthur Thomson, Alfred Zimmern, Frederick J. Libby and Wickham Steed, covering the causes of war from all angles.

The United States Since 1865. By Louis M. Hacker and Benjamin B. Kendrick. F. S. Crofts and Company, New York. \$5.00. Readers who raved over Beard's *Rise of American Civilization* will enjoy this invigorating social history. Primary emphasis is placed upon the problems and achievements of the common man. The scope is comprehensive and the style is interesting. Contains many illustrations and charts.

A History of American Economic Life. By Edward C. Kirkland. F. S. Crofts and Company, New York. \$5.00. The colonial age, the agricultural era, and the industrial state constitute the three divisions of this illuminating volume. An immense amount of factual data is skillfully presented. Working class problems are treated in considerable detail and from a liberal point of view. Major attention is given to the part played by the government in the economic life of the nation.

CORRESPONDENCE

A Socialist Protests

AS a member of the Socialist Party who places the welfare of the party above the internal conflicts of ideas and personalities, may I appeal to you and your readers to withhold the formation of definite impressions which may have been created by McAlister Coleman's article "Who Are The Socialists?" in your last issue.

I have always been an admirer of Comrade Coleman's sincerity and rebellious spirit, but I regret to say that in this instance he seems to have lost his balance. His article is unjust to those comrades he lists, both to those he lauds and to those he apparently dislikes; unjust to those he has failed to mention, and above all unjust to the Socialist Party, on account of its general tenor. It is a too hasty and incomplete description of a few Socialists, and your readers should so consider it.

The writer's knowledge of the subject matter is sufficient to warrant his making this request of you and your readers.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

GEORGE BARON

The Flower of Capitalism

YOUR editorial in the issue of October 12 calls for the return of my fellow-citizens, Martin and Samuel Insull. Return means criminal prosecution and certain conviction, so heartily are they disliked here. Having caught two victims for our collective vengeance, we shall settle down and buy more watered stock. The Insulls are probably not criminally guilty, in a legal sense. Don't you see that they are simply the tragic flower of a capitalism which permits such vicious use of the institutions of property? Let's wreak our vengeance upon capitalism, not the Insulls.

Chicago, Ill.

EDWARD W. OHRENSTEIN

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Wanted: Educational Pioneers!

PLANS are in progress for a coöperative educational centre for training in the art of creative living. The centre, located on a beautiful acreage on the Hudson will commence with 25 selected students desiring to prepare for New-World Leadership. Students and faculty will live a drastically simple life, doing their own work. The curriculum will cover technology of peace work and social reconstruction; personal and vocational psychology; arts and crafts; applied religion. "The Education of the Whole Man" is the slogan.

The work needs a pioneer faculty of men and women who are prepared to meet the current revolution through coöperative effort. They must be intellectually alert, spiritually motivated, graduated out of all sectarian, racial, national and party bonds—active seekers for the universality of human fellowship. No salaries will be offered, but board and room will be provided in a

beautiful country residence, and a monthly bonus from division proceeds. If you are interested, please write at once to Wm. H. Bridge, 188 Benson Place, Bronx, New York, N. Y.

The F. O. R. Invites You

THE Fellowship of Reconciliation will hold its first meeting of the season at the West Side Y. M. C. A., 5 West 63rd Street, New York City, on Wednesday, October 26. Members are to meet for a cafeteria supper at 6:00 P.M., and speaking will begin promptly at 7:00. There will be brief talks by representatives of each of the four political parties, with discussion and questions following. All those who are interested will be welcome. For further information write to Mrs. Kingsley B. Leeds, 188 Carpenter Avenue, New York City.

Who's Who in This Issue

Stanton A. Coblentz, poet and journalist, is the author of *Marching Men—the Story of War*.

McAlister Coleman is a well-known Socialist writer and the author of *Pioneers of Freedom* and *Eugene V. Debs—A Man Unafraid*.

J. B. Matthews is an executive secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

H. A. Popley is an outstanding British missionary of long residence in India.

Patrick M. Malin is an instructor in economics at Swarthmore College.

Rachel Dunaway Cox is a feature writer for the New York *Herald Tribune*.

Help India's struggle for freedom by non-violence! Help us offset British propaganda and meet Gandhi's request for moral support from America.

Join the American League for India's Freedom, John Haynes Holmes, chairman.

Tear off and return:

American League for India's Freedom WT
383 Bible House
New York City

Count me in as a supporter of India's struggle for independence. Here are my membership dues \$ _____

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Date _____ Address _____



THE LAST WORD

EVER since Eccentricus went off the gold standard, he has been wondering just what to do about prosperity. Hoover says it is practically back again; that is, if we just let him handle matters a little longer. Roosevelt says it never would have departed if a regular President had been in office, by which he means, I suppose, Norman Thomas. But I was telling 176,879 people last night in the Great Rose Bowl that (1) it had never been here; (2) that it wasn't coming back until Eccentricus was given a chance to find it; and (3) that only, my friends, could the country be rescued by getting down to bed rock. Here I swung my arm over and smote the rostrum, or so I thought; but it turned out to be the back of Normala's head. After I had wakened enough to survey ruefully the wreck of the night lamp and to assuage Normala's reasonable protests at my carrying the campaign into the American home, I realized where the trouble lay.

It was all because of the *Prosperity—Equality League*. It seems evident that my fame is growing, for never in years have I been so sought out by promoters of supposedly benevolent undertakings of a highly respectable nature; and here comes another opportunity to save the world by allowing my name, financial contribution, ineffable prestige, and oratorical propensities to be used for the succor—I like that word in connection with these enterprises—of prosperity. The League is referred to in its literature as a "semi-patriotic movement." Now that will never do. We cannot tolerate, Sir, any dilution of our love of country. Readers of this preliminary literature might fail to see that one of its aims is to safeguard good-old-capitalism: "If the democratic capitalistic principles of America are to survive, modification of the practices of finance and industry are necessary." I won't argue with that one; but the prettification of capitalism is going to be some job. No matter how many times capitalism gets its face lifted, it's always the same old jade.

* * *

CHAIRMAN JIM FARLEY, trader extraordinary and Democratic campaign majordomo, announces a pious hope that soon slogan-bearing automobiles will pack the roads of the country. The slogan is to be printed on spare tire covers, and will read: "Get around that bad times corner with Roosevelt and Garner." What a waste of printer's ink! If the straw votes are right, it won't be long before all these people will have to have their spare tire covers done over. They'll be saying: "Tired with Roosevelt."

* * *

MY attention has been called, by about a baker's hundred radio talks, to the fact that the Democrats are pretty sure of themselves. They ought to remember the maid who had come in from the farthest sticks to take a job in a costly metropolitan home. On the first day, her employer heard her answer the phone: "Yes. . . . Sure is!" Several times that day the same procedure was followed, even to the very words. Along late in the evening, the lady of the house took matters into her own hands. When the phone rang again, she lifted the receiver and heard the uncontroversial statement, "Long distance from Washington."

* * *

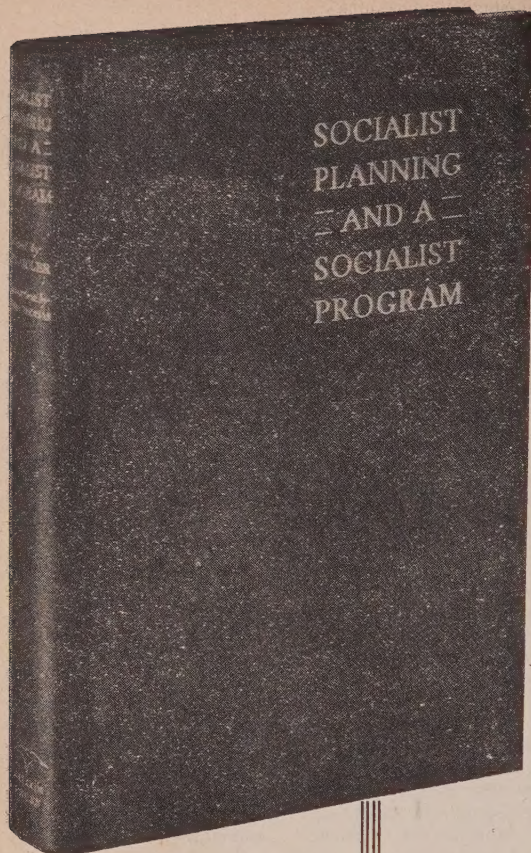
CHRISTOPHER MORLEY visited Mr. Hoover at the White House and came away greatly impressed. The President, he says, declares that what America needs is a new poem. All right, gentlemen, our courtesy cannot let you wait. Hear yez, hear yez:

Herbert Hoo—
Ver is through.

Eccentricus ■

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Revolt in a review says: "SOCIALIST PLANNING is valuable for what it contains; but valuable too for indicating the

lines of research, that must be pursued the next few years by the thoughtful people in the radical movements."

Harry Elmer Barnes says: "If one really wishes to know what Norman Thomas and his associates would do if they had power and how they would go about it, this is the best book to read."

Leon Whipple in a review in the *Survey Graphic* says: "A realistic book that courageously defines hard problems to be met by Socialists—or any other party in change."

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